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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on various settings in an intermediate school--the library, the gym, art class, and the homeroom--described from the point of view of a participant observer. It reports the results of a year-long study conducted at Longbranch, an experimental school associated with the Learning Research and Development Center at the University of Pittsburgh, with the aim of relating pupils' activities to the varying school settings in which they take place. Pupils were interviewed to elicit their shared cognitive map of the activities domain. Five major categories emerged: working, helping, making, playing, and fooling around. The first section of the paper offers a description, based on the year-long participant observation, of the various settings in the school. The second section presents data that give an indication of the actual frequency of the major pupil-named activities and the relative frequencies of these activities in different settings. In the third section, the pupils' cognitive map of their activities is contrasted with the teachers' view of the same activities. There is some difference in the views of the pupils and the teachers. Conclusions drawn are that: (1) pupils play a role in the management of their school life; (2) they do not always behave in conformity with the expectations of the teachers or the planned agenda of the various settings; and (3) their view of and justifications for their own behavior have not been taught to them by their teachers. Appendixes include a weekly schedule of classes for a fourth-grade section, a pupil behavior observation schedule, and an excerpt of an interview with a fourth-grade teacher. (MM)

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LEARNING RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTER

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THE BELIEFS AND BEHAVIORS OF PUPILS IN AN EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOL: SCHOOL SETTINGS

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Actors, rules and situations ceaselessly inform one another. . . Mehan and Wood, *The Reality of Ethnomethodology*

Introduction

The third in a series of reports on the school life of intermediate grade pupils, this report describes various settings in a school I have called Longbranch. Using an anthropological method, I sought to understand how pupils, as actors, view, interact with, and influence the settings they are confronted with in school. I was also interested in how teachers, who also serve as actors in these settings, viewed pupils' activities. Because Longbranch is an experimental school, associated, since its inception 10 years ago, with the Learning Research and Development Center at the University of Pittsburgh, these settings are both highly varied, and contain much that is novel to elementary schooling.

The central domain around which school life revolves is something intermediate-grade pupils call *activities*. I interviewed pupils to elicit their shared cognitive map of the

activities domain. These perspectives are represented as a taxonomy in Figure 1. There are five major categories--"working," "helping," "making," "playing," and "fooling around"--and a number of subcategories in each. In a previous paper, I have defined the cognitive map concept and described the interviewing techniques used to establish the activities taxonomy as well as other procedures which were used to validate it (Lancy, 1976a).

The taxonomy contains all the recurrent things that pupils do stated in their terms. In open-ended interviews, pupils state, for example, that when they "correct papers,"[1] this is "helping the teacher"; "cleaning the sink" is another activity which is "helping the teacher." The activities taxonomy serves as a partial record of the school life of pupils. In this paper, I will present some data to complement the taxonomy and further fill in this record. The first section offers a description, based on my year-long participant observation of the various settings in the school. I spent an average of three

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[1]The nature of this work is such that a clear explication of terminology is essential. The paper contains several conventions to facilitate this task. Terms created by me for the purposes of discussion (e.g., *other studies* and *intransit*) are italicized the first time they are used in the paper. Terms which pupils or teachers use in a special way (e.g., "fooling around") are placed in quotation marks the first time they are used in the paper. Subsequently, these terms may not be placed in quotation marks but the reader is to understand that I use them with the meaning they have for pupils, or in the last section of the paper, for teachers.

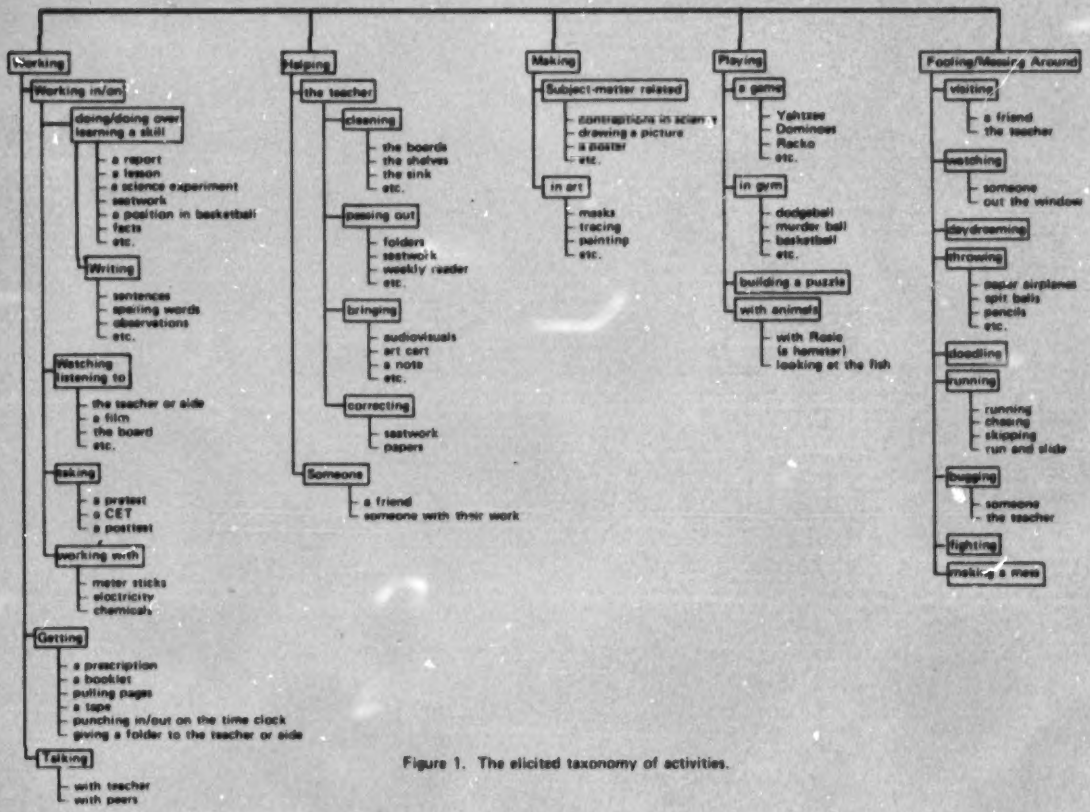

Figure 1. The elicited taxonomy of activities.

days per week in the school from November 1974 to May 1975. Activity terms taken from the taxonomy (see Figure 1) and other expressions which pupils use in their talk about school are highlighted (by quotation marks) in the text of these descriptions. By using these expressions in context, their meaning will be explicated in the text. By describing the school in in terms of a series of settings, important variations in the nature of school life will emerge.

The second section presents data gathered during detailed observation of all of the intermediate-grade pupils. The categories were drawn from the activities taxonomy. That is, the pupils' own expressions were used in constructing the code in order to facilitate comparisons between pupils' statements (or beliefs) about school and their actual behaviors. The data are presented in such a way that cross-setting comparisons in the frequency of activities are facilitated. The section is concluded with a short discussion of pupils' beliefs about school settings.

In the third and final section of the paper, the pupils' cognitive map of their activities is contrasted with the teacher's view of the same domain. Teachers were interviewed and asked to list and describe the various kinds of things that pupils do in school. There is, in fact, some difference in the views of pupils and teachers. By describing the latter here, some balance will be given to the picture of Longbranch school presented in the two previous papers (Lancy, 1976a, 1976b).

School Settings

In describing the settings that intermediate-grade pupils encounter in Longbranch, I will refer to diagrams of the school found in Figures 2-4. A floor plan of the building is shown in Figure 2. Those spaces which are used by the fourth and fifth graders are noted. Figure 3 shows a detailed floor plan for a typical classroom, and Figure 4, the *learning center*. The school building contains spaces where pupils engage in various activities, but activities are not evenly distributed over the spaces. It is the patterning of activities in these spaces that creates school settings. In a previous paper (Lancy, 1976b), I described the science lab setting as one space with a particular pattern of pupil activities. My primary purpose here will be to describe the remaining settings in the school.

The school settings in which pupils spend most of their time (other than the science lab) are: *block*, a three-hour daily period when pupils have individualized instruction in math, reading, and spelling in their *homeroom* and in the learning-center spaces; *gym* where pupils have two 30- to 45-minute periods a week of physical education ("PE") with a gym teacher and one 45-minute period of "gym" per week directed by the homeroom teacher; *library* where pupils have two 45-minute periods a week of individualized instruction in library skills and reference skills ("LS and RS") and one 45-minute period a week when they return books, take out new ones to read, and are read a story by the librarian. *Art* is held in the pupil's

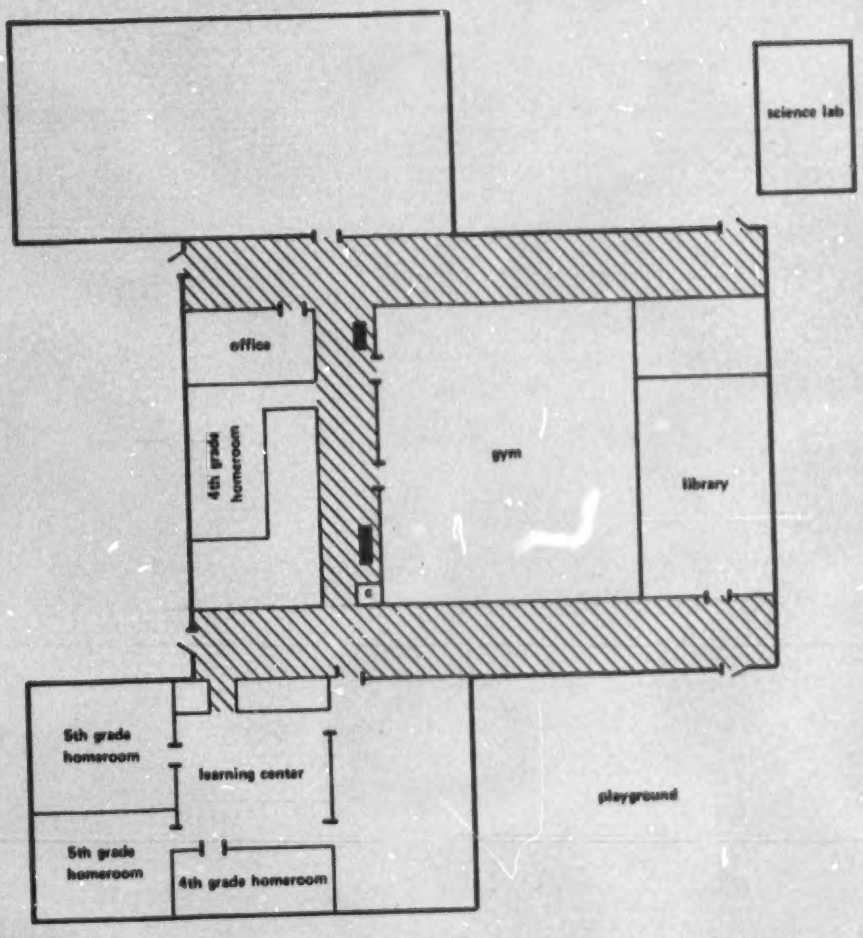

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Figure 2. Map of Longbranch School.

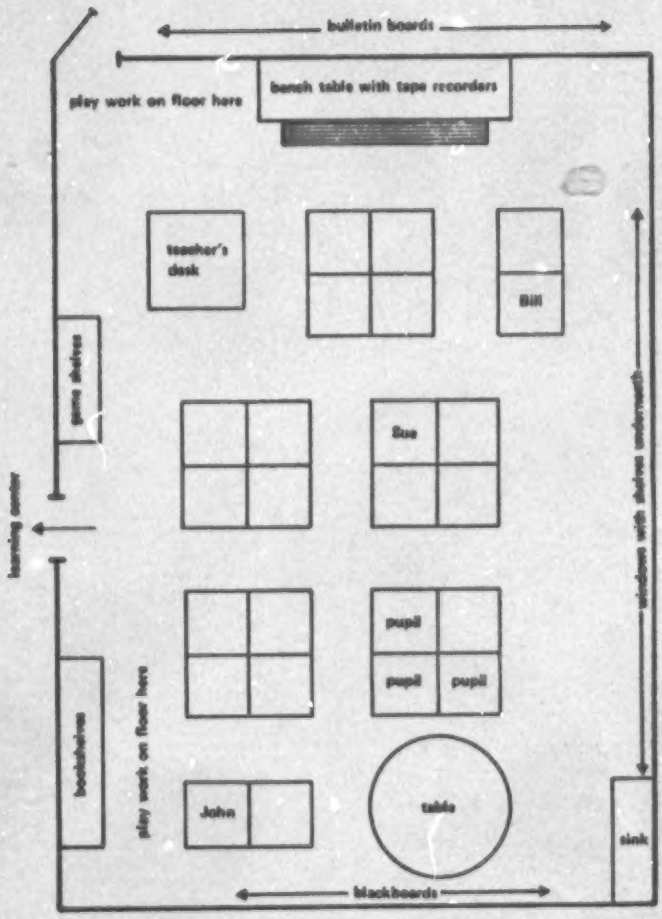

Figure 3. The classroom.

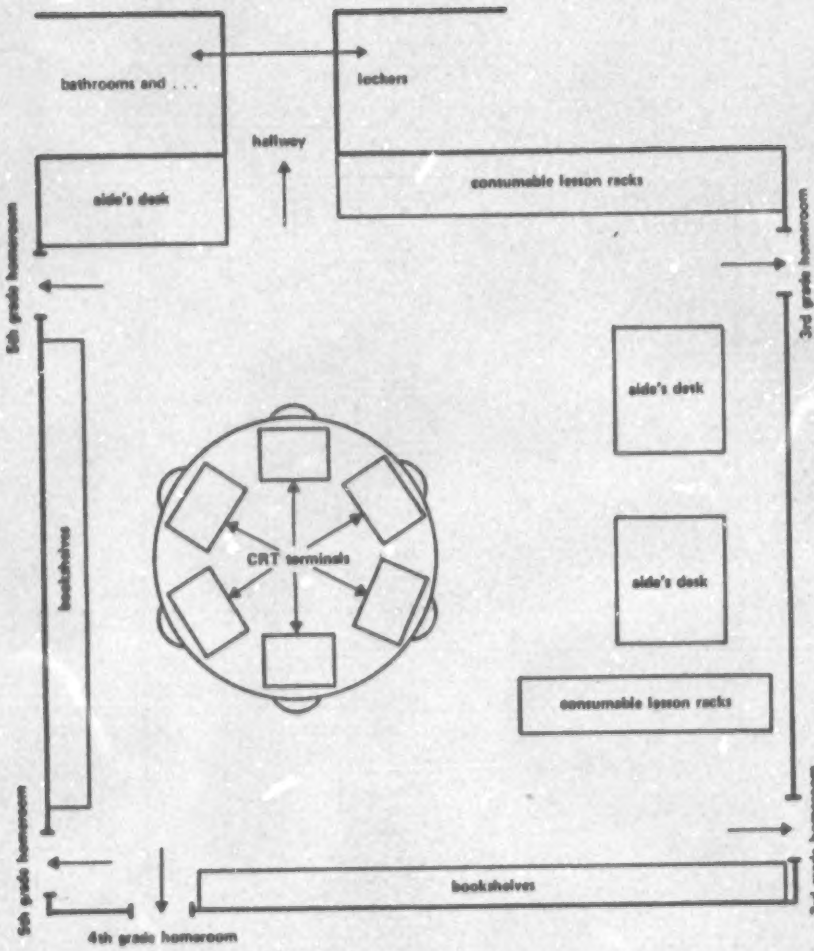

Figure 4. The learning center.

homerooms and directed by a "special" teacher. There are two 40-minute art periods per week and two 30- to 45-minute music periods per week. *Other studies* take up from one to two hours a day (usually in the afternoon) where instruction is directed entirely by the homeroom teacher. Subject areas covered include social studies, health, language skills, and drill in selected areas of English and arithmetic. Instruction during other studies, unlike block, takes place entirely within the homeroom space and is not individualized. And, finally, *in transit*; as pupils travel from one setting to another, they pass through and interact with several spaces including the classroom, the learning center, and the halls. When they are in transit, pupils use these spaces in a variety of interesting ways. Individual pupils are in transit as many as 30 times a day and they occupy this setting for a significant portion of the school day. A weekly schedule of classes for one fourth-grade class can be found in Appendix A.

In addition to providing a description of each setting, I would like to place the activity items listed in Figure 1 in context. To do this, I have created three hypothetical pupils--John, Sue, and Bill--whose behavior closely approximates some typical patterns for Longbranch intermediate-grade pupils. We shall follow these three pupils through the various settings in order to show the circumstances surrounding the occurrence of a particular activity. We begin in their homeroom.

Block

John, Sue, and Bill are seated at their desks (see Figure 3) in their homeroom. After "morning exercises" of the Pledge Allegiance to the Flag and a poem, the classroom is transformed into a bustle of activity. Sue takes the stack of math folders from the shelf and "passes them out" ("helping the teacher"); each pupil has his/her own folder containing lesson and planning sheets, tests, etc. Other pupils pass out reading and spelling folders and the mimeographed page of seatwork. Bill begins "doing his seatwork" immediately.

John goes to the learning center (see Figure 4) and, seated at a CRT terminal, logs in and begins "doing Facts," a skill and practice program for math facts. A friend from another class is seated at the terminal next to John, also "doing Facts." The two frequently glance at each other's display screens and comment on their own or the other's results. The scene resembles a four-way conversation. John and his friend both talk back to the terminals--"Aw, that can't be wrong!"

Sue consults her planning sheet and also does her seatwork. After approximately 30 minutes, Bill puts his completed seatwork on the teacher's desk and leaves the room to walk to the science lab (see Figure 2) where he will "work on Volta" (a unit in the science curriculum). John terminates his work on Facts and notes down the extent of his progress and his error rate on a sheet for that purpose, puts this into his math folder, "gets a CET" (curriculum-embedded test) from the shelves,

and returns to his seat. He looks over his planning sheet and then "takes the CET". After ten minutes, his "neighbor" returns to his seat, and the two of them "visit" for a few minutes.

Meanwhile, Sue has also finished her seatwork and has finished "getting a book from the shelves" in the learning center (see Figure 4). This book is from a group of fiction titles pupils may choose for their "selected reading"; Sue reads in the book for the next half hour.

John takes his folder with the CET to the learning center and "gives it to the aide" who will correct his work. He "visits" briefly with the aide; he tells her about a trip his family took to Florida recently. He then continues on to the cassette-tape cabinet in the hallway ("C" in Figure 2) where he "gets a tape." Returning to the classroom, John places the tape in a player, sits down on the tape bench, and begins to "do his spelling words."

At about 10:30, Bill returns from the science lab and checks to see if his seatwork has been corrected by one of the other pupils; it has, and he gets it and takes it to his seat. He passes by the teacher and berates her jokingly for making the seatwork "too hard." He has gotten two of his math problems wrong so he consults with Jill, his neighbor, and with her help, "does it over." Bill then gets his math lesson from the folder and, laying down on the floor, "does the lesson." (These materials are consummable--pupils work problems on the page.)

Sue puts the book in her desk and "gets a reading lesson" from her folder; she does the lesson for only a short while before she runs into a problem. She places a cardboard "flag" on top of her desk to signal the teacher and takes out a spiral notebook used in spelling. She missed two words on a spelling CET yesterday and now must "write the spelling words" ten times. John takes his spelling words to the teacher who checks them and asks him to spell them one at a time out loud; he does not misspell any of the words and he then "gets a prescription" from her for subsequent work in spelling. He returns the spelling folder to the shelf. The teacher then goes to Sue and answers her questions regarding the reading lesson.

John returns to the learning center where he "gets his math folder" from the aide and places it on the teacher's desk. Later, she will look over his work and perhaps discuss it with him. John then wanders over to the side of the room and "watches out the window" for a few minutes before returning to his desk where he begins to do his seatwork.

Sue has finished her reading lesson and "gives her folder to the aide." She waits while the aide corrects it and is delighted when there are no mistakes. She "pulls a post" (test) from the rack in the learning center and returns to the room. Leaving her folder at her desk, she sits down at the table and "takes the post." Off and on, Bill runs into a little difficulty with his math but, with the help of peers and the teacher, he works on.

At 11:15, John turns in his seatwork and joins the other boys who are "playing a game" with dominoes on the floor behind the teacher's desk. Bill leaves his math folder with an aide en route to "getting a tape" in the hall. He will "work on spelling" for the next 20 minutes. John leaves the game after 10 minutes and returns to his seat where he takes out a novel and "does selected reading." At 11:25, Sue finishes the test and takes it in her folder to the aide. She returns to the room and the teacher asks if she would like to "help" take the Halloween decorations down from the bulletin board. Before she begins "helping the teacher," she "bugs" (teases) a girl who is seated next to the bulletin board about her "boyfriend."

Bill has his spelling words checked by the teacher and he gets a prescription from her to spend time tomorrow on the "TRYSPEL" computer program. He joins two other pupils to help them "make a poster" for the "elections." Sue's friend Doris brings in her reading folder and announces, "You passed!" She puts her folder away and enthusiastically blocks off a square after her name on the class progress chart for reading. She scans the chart to see who she is ahead of and who is ahead of her until the teacher asks the class to return to their seats and begin cleaning up for lunch. This accomplished, the pupils line up in two parallel rows, one of girls and one of boys, and march to the locker area to "get their lunches" or coats to go home.

There is a characteristic atmosphere in the block setting. From 9:15 A.M. to approximately 11:00 A.M., the norm is serious and purposeful work. The majority of pupils work very efficiently through the routines of getting materials, working problems, answering questions, reading passages, and taking tests. They seem to know exactly what they are doing. They are motivated to "get their goals," to "pass tests," to "get their work done," and so forth. A minority of pupils seem to have some difficulty in sustaining this purposeful working behavior. They struggle to complete their prescriptions. They "daydream," "wander around the room" (and the school building), and "fool around." This group has one eye and one ear trained on the classroom at all times and are the first to join in if there are any signs of a breakdown in normal routines.

After 10:45 A.M., the atmosphere begins to change. At 9:15, pupils disperse to the learning center and the science lab and other locations in the school; by 10:45, most have reassembled in their homeroom. Pupils are now finishing their work and beginning to "make things," "help the teacher," "play games," and "build puzzles." There is more noise, more laughter, and more movement within the room. Pupils who have not finished their work have difficulty staying on task and now the teacher must play more of a policemen's role. By 11:45, all of the pupils have finished their work or given up trying and the last 20 minutes are spent in putting things away, sharing out-of-school adventures with friends and the

teacher, and playing games. Just before 12:00, pupils line up to leave for lunch. By now, their level of excitement is quite high--but for the lineup and the 80-foot march to the lockers, they must somehow find a reserve of decorum or else be called back to their seats to "settle down."

Other Studies

It is 1:05 and pupils are all in their seats. The teacher passes out a dittoed questionnaire and instructs the pupils to get out their social studies books. John rushes to a corner near the window where he is joined, on the floor, by three other pupils. Each has a ditto, although all do not have books. The object is to answer the questions which deal with facts from the history and geography of the "southern states" by referring to the social studies textbook. John opens his book to the chapter on the southern states, then reads aloud the first question on the ditto. The other pupils hurriedly read until, after some false alarms, they confidently proclaim the answer. John writes in this answer on his ditto. He then reads the second question, but this time another pupil has already found the answer. John relinquishes his role of question-reader to search for answers for awhile, then reassumes it.

By contrast, Bill is a more passive member of his group; he neither reads questions nor searches for answers, but rather waits for them to be found, then writes them in. At one point, he is delegated to ask the teacher about one of the

questions ("all the rivers or just . . . ?"), but spends most of his time talking about the Steelers (football team) with whoever will listen. Initially, Sue works along at her desk, then she is joined by Diane. They skip through the ditto answering several questions without opening their books; then they begin to read.

At 1:35 the teacher calls for them to hand in the dittos; she delegates a pupil to "help" by collecting them. Another pupil passes back a corrected ditto on the "mid-Atlantic states." Everyone has returned to his/her seat and pupils compare their scores on the ditto. Sue has gotten "zero wrong." Then the class "goes over" the ditto; the teacher calls on John to read the first question and answer it; he does and she goes on to other pupils. Initially, pupils (including Sue) wave their hands to be called on. John "watches" his peers as they answer the questions but then begins to "watch" other things in the room. Bill has been "daydreaming" most of the time; he "does over" his wrong answers as the corrections are given. The questions deal mostly with the abbreviation of state names and the names of state capitals. Sue has not been called on by the time they are finished despite her eagerness to respond.

At 1:45, the teacher tells them to put away social studies and take out their health folders. She tells them to copy down what she is writing on the board, which is a list of the terms for the various organs of the body that are responsible for the circulation of blood. John, Sue, and Bill "write"

these terms in their notebooks as they "watch the board." At one point, John moves to get a closer look at the board and "accidently" bumps into Fred on his way. Fred complains, in vain, to the teacher. She then passes out a dittoed drawing of the blood circulation system. The pupils' assignment is to correctly label the parts. John and Sue with their respective neighbors work hurriedly on this assignment, while Bill does his ditto alone intermittent with "visiting" Frank, his neighbor. Finally, at 1:58, the teacher tells them to "line up for gym."

Other studies stand in sharp contrast to block. In other studies, the teacher controls what subject will be worked on and for how long. All students do the same work. Inter-pupil variation in behavior is greater in other studies; here good students dominate the group work and the oral question-answer periods. Poor or unmotivated students are either uninvolved or only passively involved in the lesson. In block, one pupil may periodically help another with his/her work; in other studies, some pupils do all of the "fact-locating," while others are the beneficiaries of this effort. Finally, over time, there is greater variation in pupils' behavior. During other studies, all pupils may at some time be working intently, day-dreaming, fooling around, or struggling to get the teacher's attention. These drastic changes within a short time span are not nearly as evident in the block setting. Further contrasts between block and other studies will be made in the next section.

Gym

At 2:00, the class files into the gym. They line up in three parallel rows facing the gym teacher. She leads them through a series of calisthenics ("exercises"). Bill complains to his neighbor, "Aw, not these again," and is very slow in getting up after the "sit-ups." All of the pupils seem restless and anxious for the game to start. The teacher calls John up to her and, with his help, demonstrates the "bounce-pass." She instructs the pupils to form pairs to practice the bounce-pass. John bounces the ball too hard and it rolls to the other side of the room. Bill and Sue are paired up and they take turns trying to knock each other down by bouncing the ball very hard at a sharp angle of deflection. The teacher tells them to quit "fooling around" or sit down.

After 10 minutes of bounce-passing, the gym teacher blows her whistle and passes out blue and green shirts to the pupils. Those who did not get a shirt must sit on the stage until told to "substitute." Sue did not get a shirt, and Bill and John are on opposing teams. Play begins and John soon has possession of the ball; he dribbles around several players, shoots and misses, but rebounds his own shot; the teacher tells him to pass it off. He bounces a pass to a teammate but the ball is intercepted by Bill who knocks it out of bounds. John is a good player; his teammates pass the ball to him and he takes many shots, some of which are baskets. Sue has come into the game as a substitute and calls loudly for a teammate to pass her the ball, but no one does. The

teacher repeatedly reminds them, "Bounce-pass, people, bounce-pass."

On the stage, Bill visits with Jimmy. They talk about the intramural basketball game this evening which will be a lot more fun because "there won't be any girls." At 2:30, the teacher again blows her whistle and the game is over. The pupils groan in mock disappointment or mock exhaustion. There is a scramble for place in line, as the next stop is the drinking fountain.

Pupils see the gym as a setting where "play" is paramount; the teacher's attempts to insert "work" into the setting are strenuously resisted, mostly by "fooling around." Some pupils make a conscious effort to carry out the particular instructions of the day but most are intent on "scoring," and the setting is clearly dominated by the more athletic boys and girls.

Art

Bill arrives in the homeroom at 9:05, pushing the "art cart." Narrowly missing Diane, he pulls it to a halt near the teacher's desk. He is followed shortly by the art teacher who says, "I'll bet nobody remembered to bring in their magazines! Lucky I remembered to bring some extras." Sue is stationed near the cart and the teacher spies her--"Sue, please pass out the copper sheets." As Sue passes out the sheets, the teacher goes over to Bill's desk, thanks him for helping, and asks if he has brought a nature magazine. He has not, but Fred, his neighbor, offers to share his. The

whole class leafs through magazines looking for a picture of an animal to copy onto tracing paper. Some had started the project earlier in the week, but John had been finishing up his last project and he, too, has forgotten the magazines. He looks through the pile on the second shelf of the cart and scatters them around on the floor. He is joined by Danny and, together, they become quite absorbed in looking at and talking about the pictures. The teacher reprimands them for "making a mess," and John grabs a magazine and takes it back to his seat. Sue has nearly finished "making" her tracing, but Bill cannot make up his mind whether to do a bear or an elk.

By 9:35, Sue has taped her tracing over the copper sheet and has begun tracing over the outline of her duck with a stylus. The teacher cautions, "Remember what I said on Monday, don't press too hard or you'll tear the paper." Her warning comes too late for Bill who, having torn his tracing, now advises Fred on how to emboss his copper sheet. John, meanwhile, has found he can use his sheet to reflect a beam of light into other pupils' eyes; when he does this to Henry, the two get into an argument which the teacher must break up. John spends the rest of the class period "wandering around" and "watching" other pupils. Sue has done a nice job on her duck and receives compliments from several of the other pupils. Bill does a freehand design of a flower on his sheet. At 9:40, the teacher asks him to wheel the cart to her next class.

Like gym, pupils view art as an interlude in a schedule that is otherwise mostly devoted to working activities. In interviewing pupils about the various subject areas and their beliefs about them, I received comments like: "Art is fun, because you get to make stuff with different materials," or "I like art because it's not hard and my parents don't care what grade I get in it." Unlike gym, in art there are no standouts; everyone's performance is judged by teacher and peers as good. Unlike block, in art there are no tests and failure brings no negative consequences.

Library

Each class attends the library three times a week. During two of these periods, pupils have library skills and reference skills. This is an individualized curriculum and the skills to be mastered consist of things like learning to use the encyclopedia, to use the card catalog, to use the Dewey decimal system, and to write book reports.

John, Bill, and Sue file into the library with the rest of their classmates. It is 2:05. There are assigned seats. John sits at a rectangular table near the back of the room, and Bill and Sue are at carrels near the center of the room. Their folders await them, but before opening his, John continues to fill in words in the crossword puzzle on the back of his Weekly Reader. Bill soon joins him and together they try to figure out the words. Sue takes a work page out of her folder and reads the introductory paragraph. She then goes

off to get two volumes of the encyclopedia which she brings back to her seat. Using them, she fills in the questions on her work page.

At 2:20, Bill is at his seat "doing a work page" with the aid of a reference book on birds and John is "playing" the cassettes in the rack like a xylophone with his pencil. Eventually, he "gets a cassette" out and, with a folder under his arm, goes and sits down in front of one of the tape players. Sue is finishing up her work page but has a question, so she puts up an "orange flag" and "visits" with Diane while waiting for the librarian. The librarian soon arrives and, her question answered, Sue "gives her folder to the aide" to have it corrected. She puts away the two encyclopedia volumes and "wanders around" the room.

Sue is called by the aide a few minutes later and, together, they go over the page. She remains waiting at the aide's desk and they talk about the snow. The librarian arrives and checks off a box on Sue's progress chart, praises her, and tells her which lesson to do next. John half-listens to the tape as he "watches the aide"; Bill is busy in one corner of the room "throwing paper airplanes."

By 2:35, Sue is back at her desk with an encyclopedia. John, on his way to the cassette rack, stopped to "bug" Sharon by pushing her chair away and they are "fighting." Bill is also at his seat "making a picture" as he waits for the librarian to answer a question. By 2:45, the pupils are on their somewhat noisy way back to their classroom.

Pupils also have "library" once a week when they return books borrowed the previous week and check out new ones. This activity takes 10 to 15 minutes and during the remainder of the 45-minute period, the librarian reads the assembled class a story.

In Transit

In transit is a setting which, in this case, is recognized as a distinct entity only by the participant observer. Basically, it is intended to cover all situations where pupils travel from one location to the next, whether within the homeroom or between different parts of the school.

It is 9:45 A.M. and pupils are in block. Bill walks to the teacher's desk and drops off his seatwork. He then walks out the door of the classroom and into the learning center. He stops briefly to "visit" with Karen, who is seated at one of the CRT terminals. He encounters John coming in the other direction and John "throws a paper airplane" at him. Bill ducks and moves out of the learning center. At the cassette file in the hall, he stops to visit with a fourth-grade pupil who is also there to "get" a cassette.

Sue recruits Cindy and Don to join her for a visit to the science lab. They pass through the learning center and, once in the hallway, begin "skipping" along. They pause briefly to "watch" what is going on in the gym. They then continue on to the lab. John has returned to the classroom and, shortly after sitting down, gets up to sharpen his pencil. The sharpener is on the teacher's desk but, on his way there, he detours

around the back of the room, looks over a pupil's shoulder for a minute, then arrives at his destination. While sharpening the pencil, he visits with Beth who is seated at the teacher's desk "correcting papers." On his way back to his desk, John pauses for a few seconds to watch what is going on in the learning center.

At 11:00 A.M., the teacher tells the class to put everything away and get ready to go to the library. After a few minutes, she calls to the girls to line up, then the boys. Since the boys were a bit noisy, she tells them to return to their seats and admonishes them to "act like gentlemen." Finally, she lets them line up and they begin to file through the learning center with the teacher bringing up the rear. They march quietly in two columns down the hall and into the library. At 11:45, the teacher returns to lead them back to the classroom. As they enter the homeroom, Bill breaks into a "run" and he is reprimanded by the teacher and told, "Go back out and this time, walk in."

The in-transit situation is an interesting paradox; at one extreme, pupils traveling as an entire class are under tight control and supervision and, at the other extreme, traveling alone or in small groups, they are almost completely uncontrolled. This latter situation turns the major routes of the school into a kind of elongated playground.[2]

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[2]The "elongated playground" was suggested to me by a pupil who responded to my question, "What would you do to change the school?" with "I think it would be neat to put a roller coaster in the gym. You could put it in the halls and you could be riding down the halls."

Unfortunately, sampling difficulties precluded the collection of behavior observation data in this playground.

The Pupils' Behavior

In the previous section, I have described the school activities in terms of their settings. In this section, the results of an observation study will be reported to give an indication of the actual frequency of major pupil-named activities and the relative frequencies of these activities in different settings. The results can also be used to verify the representativeness of the descriptions in the previous section. The observation schedule used in this study is shown in Appendix B. Fifteen discrete categories were used to code pupils' behaviors. With the exception of the *waiting*[1] category, all of them represented terms which the pupils themselves use to describe their activities. Observation sessions were spread over a two-week period and each of 80 fourth and fifth graders was observed (10 seconds/observation) 10 times in the block setting, 6 times in other studies, and 5 times in the library and art settings. The results of this study are summarized in Table 1. The data are broken down by activity (11 categories) and by setting and represent the percentage of time that an activity was observed to occur in each setting.

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[1]In this section of the paper, some pupil terms (i.e., *helping*) are used as labels for categories of observed behavior. Whenever these terms are used as behavior category labels, they will be italicized.

Table 1

The Percentage of Pupils' Activities in Four School Settings

Activity	Block (800 observations)	Other Studies (480 observations)	Art (400 observations)	Library (400 observations)	Overall [a] (2680 observations)
Working [b]	43.1	21.7	1.8	39.5	30.8
Watching–instruction	.9	24.4	6.0	.5	5.4
Talking with peer –instruction	1.0	6.7	5.3	.8	3.3
Getting	14.0	6.7	13.0	11.0	12.4
Waiting	2.5	11.9	3.8	3.8	4.2
Helping [c]	2.9	1.5	1.0	.5	1.7
Making	3.3	2.7	38.0	1.0	8.0
Playing	6.1	1.0	2.3	3.5	4.2
Watching–other	7.4	8.5	14.0	9.5	10.0
Talking with peer–other	11.3	4.8	8.3	15.5	10.5
Fooling around [d]	7.0	21.0	7.0	14.0	10.7
	100	100	100	100	100

[a] Includes 800 observations made in the *Science Lab* setting.

[b] Includes the categories of *working*, and *talking w/teacher*.

[c] Includes the categories of *helping teacher* and *helping peer*.

[d] Includes the categories *talking with teacher*, *daydreaming* and *fooling around*.

All of the activities which pupils cite as occurring in school were observed with some regularity. The first four categories in Table 1 refer to various kinds of work and, taking them together, we can see in the column labeled "overall", pupils spend somewhat more than 50% of their time working. This figure coincides with a widely held pupil belief that "in school you work about half the time." Pupils stress the importance of helping, making, and playing in their view

of school, even though these activities are relatively infrequent.

Block

The percentages presented for the block period in Table 1 should be taken as representative for only a portion of the time, namely the period between 9:15 and 11:00 A.M. This is when most of the observations were made. For the entire block period, the percentage of *working* would be slightly lower and that for *playing*, *making*, and *helping* would be slightly higher. Pupils spend roughly 60% of their time in block working (including *getting*). Approximately 15% of their time is spent in work-related voluntary activities--*working*, *making*, *helping*, and *playing* and 16% is spent *fooling around*. The work-related voluntary activities take place at the end of the block period while *fooling around* occurs over the entire period. Pupils spend little time actually *waiting* (for the teacher) because of the flag system (Stone & Vaughan, 1976) whereby they can signal to the teacher their need for help and then shift, while they are waiting, to some other work activity.

Other Studies

For other studies, Table 1 shows a decline in the amount of active *working* that is characteristic of individualized courses in block. An increase is apparent in the more passive kind of work represented by *watching* (instruction) that

is characteristic of the traditional methods of instruction found in this period. The self-management system is absent from other studies leading to a decline in *getting* and a sharp increase in *waiting* times. Naturally, during a period in which pupils are being called on in succession, there are frequent gaps in activity while the teacher decides on whom to call, or a child, once called on, loses his/her place, or gets the answer wrong and so on, all of which tend to increase *waiting* time. Children are not "allowed" to play during other studies, although there are moments which are sufficiently relaxed so that a pupil can "get away with" playing with a pencil or some other object close at hand.

Fooling around is prevalent, perhaps because of opportunities to "visit" (pupils often work in groups) or out of sheer boredom. The fact that pupils may work in groups is also responsible for the relatively high frequency of *talking with peer* (instruction).

Art

Not surprisingly, the most frequently observed activity in Table 1 is *making*. The relatively large number of *fooling around* incidents can be traced to the fact that in art, the materials which are intended for use in a certain way on a certain project may just as well be used in unsanctioned and amusing ways (e.g., using the copper sheet as a mirror to send signals).

Very little active working occurs but the teacher does lecture on and demonstrate (*watching--instruction*) the project she has in mind, and pupils, in turn, discuss this among themselves (*talking with peer--instruction*). Pupils not only discuss the project but, once it is underway, spend quite a bit of time wandering around the room to observe the efforts of their classmates (*watching--other*).

Library

The library observations were made during library skills and reference skills ("LS and RS") classes. Considering the four *working* categories as a group, we find in Table 1 that pupils spend 51.8% of their time working in the library versus 59% in block. As in block, very little group work occurs, hence the low percentage of *talking with peer--instruction*. The last three activities in Table 1 fall into the fooling around category of the taxonomy (Figure 1). Taking these together we find that pupils *fool around* in the library 39% of the time, versus only 25.7% in block.

The requirements for action in the library are clearly seen by pupils as work-oriented and not fun (unlike art). On the other hand, they do not seem to take library as seriously as the subjects (math, reading, and spelling) in block. Perhaps this is because they feel that library is boring or because they say their parents "don't care what grade we get in LS and RS." For whatever reason, pupils report (in interviews) that

they fool around a lot in the library and the behavior observation results would seem to confirm their beliefs.

Teachers' Beliefs About Pupil Activities

The taxonomy of activities in Figure 1 represents a view of school life which is shared by pupils. I felt it was important to compare this perspective with that held by the Longbranch teachers. Eight months after I completed my work with pupils, I returned to the school to interview teachers. Those teachers with the most contact with intermediate-grade pupils were selected: two fourth-grade teachers, two fifth-grade teachers, the librarian, and the science teacher. The interviews lasted from 25 to 45 minutes each. The questions were open-ended but, as with the pupils, I tried to direct teachers to activity terms and their relationships. Excerpts from two of these interviews can be found in Appendix C.

The teachers were extremely helpful and articulate, and several aspects of their responses contrasted with those given by pupils. First, teachers often shifted from talking about what pupils do to what they, the teachers, did in the classroom as shown in the second interview excerpt in Appendix C. Pupils rarely made such shifts in talking about activities. A second difference was that pupils tended spontaneously to list terms which had no subordinates. Teachers gave general classes of activities -- playing, working, going somewhere, etc. Third, teachers were less likely than pupils to supply

a commonly used term to describe a class of activities. What all pupils call simply "working" is described by one teacher as "contract work," by another as "doing prescriptions," and by a third as "on task," and so forth. All of these findings relate to the degree of sharedness of the pupil activities information. Pupils talk a great deal about activities and, in the process, a mutually intelligible language has evolved that facilitates such discussion. Teachers (at least in the teachers' lounge) spend little time talking about pupils' activities, so they lack terms to describe many of them or use terms which are not shared with other teachers.

Content analysis of the six interviews revealed that despite differences in language, teachers hold a common view of pupil activities. The interviews yielded too little information about specific activity terms to construct a taxonomy analogous to Figure 1, but some generalizations can be made. While pupils divide their activities conceptually into five categories, four categories emerged from the teachers' descriptions.

For convenience, I will use the expression *on task* to refer to the first category. Teachers include in this category all activities directly related to the achievement of "goals" which pupils have been assigned (as in social studies or LS and RS) or have contracted for (as in math and reading). This would include the completion of worksheets, listening to spelling tapes, taking tests, and getting materials

(although teachers, like pupils, see this last class as qualitatively different than other kinds of working). On task corresponds very closely to the pupils' "working" category.

Teachers used "self-selected" to describe a variety of activities which are not directly related to a goal but are nevertheless "worthwhile." Self-selected includes a number of activities which pupils put in the "working" category. A pupil who is having difficulty in math, for example, may be told by the teacher to spend time on one of the drill and practice computer series (e.g., FACTS). Pupils call this "working," but teachers refer to it as a "self-selected" activity because the pupil decides when he/she will go on the computer (day of the week) and, within limits, how much time he/she will spend on it. Working on various projects which are assigned but which have an indefinite or distant "due date" is also seen by teachers as a self-selected activity.

All "helping" activities are designated by teachers as self-selected. For instance, one teacher characterized a pupil tutoring another pupil as follows: "They choose to do that. I've not requested that they go and help another so I guess I would classify that as a self-selected activity, but I don't think they would think of it as such." Teachers see helping activities as being in the student's interest--to alleviate boredom and to give them a sense of participation. Pupils see helping activities as in their peers, the school's, or the teacher's interest. Teachers feel they have to work to

provide helping opportunities for pupils. Pupils feel they are sacrificing opportunities to make things and play when they help someone or help the teacher. Only some playing activities are included by teachers in the self-selected category, especially educational games and jigsaw puzzles. Play that is noisy or disruptive belongs in "off task."

When pupils talk about out-of-school topics (television programs) or games that they could also play at home, teachers do not see this as self-selected activity. "Playing with little trucks and cars or erasers and pencils in their desks are not worthwhile. This is something that can take place outside of school." To qualify as self-selected then, an activity has to be "worthwhile"; it must contribute something to the pupils' learning as well as embodying something unique to the school situation.

The third category was labeled "off task" by two teachers. It includes those activities which pupils would group under "fooling around" and a few they would include under "making" and "playing." Teachers and pupils share the view that any non-work activity that a pupil engages in before he/she has completed his/her goals is "off task." However, as indicated, even when the pupils have "earned" the right to engage in a self-selected activity, that activity may still be seen as "off task" by teachers if it is noisy or if it is something the pupil might do at home.

A striking difference between the teachers' and the pupils' view of fooling around is that where pupils see it as a normal manifestation of their own exuberance (fooling around is bad only if you get caught), teachers see it as a symptom of some underlying "problem": "The children might be trying to goof off in school because they know when they go home they have to do such and such as punishment." Another teacher said, "The pupil fooling around in the bathroom is a signal to me that the pupil is having difficulty in the classroom."

The fourth and last category that teachers employ is called "socializing." This category has no direct counterpart in the pupils' description of their activities. All of the teachers expressed the view that the classroom should be an enjoyable place; however, they did not feel that contract work provided that kind of atmosphere and, because of the need for pupil progress, self-selected time had to be carefully limited. To create an enjoyable atmosphere, most teachers encourage various kinds of "socializing." They set an example themselves by teasing and joking with pupils and leaving themselves open to teasing. They "share" incidents from their personal lives and expect pupils to do likewise. Socializing, then, is pupil-pupil or pupil-teacher interaction that occurs during on-task time, but is of short duration (teasing that persists becomes "off task"), is light-hearted (joking that upsets someone is "off task"), and is public (a private conversation between two pupils is "off task"). Pupils are expected to participate in socializing and to respect the

conventions of its use. When pupils do cooperate then " . . . you become a family, all the members of the family grow to know each other better and the children seem to accept one another like you accept your family with their faults--weaknesses and strengths. . . . " When pupils do not cooperate either by failing to socialize or by over-socializing, this creates a strain on the "family."

Various terms, including "on task," are used by teachers to designate a class of activities where pupils work on assignments. Work that is not assigned, such as helping, making, and playing activities, fall under "self-selected." "Off task" includes some of the previous activities when they occur during "on-task" time or when they are identical with out-of-school activities, as well as "goofing off." Socializing activities are light-hearted interactions that reduce the strain during "on-task" periods without disrupting them entirely.

The teachers' view of pupils' activities is different from the view that pupils themselves hold. Pupils do play a role in the management of their school life. They do not always behave in conformity with the expectations of the teachers or the planned agenda of various school settings. Their view of and justifications for their own behavior have not been taught to them by teachers.

On the other hand, the data do not support the characterization of teachers and pupils as mutally antagonistic subcultures that are found in a number of popular accounts of schools (i.e., Herndon, 1968). Teachers at Longbranch are not ignorant of

what goes on in the pupil culture and they are, in general, sympathetic to pupils' views even when these are different from their own. It seems to me that teachers and pupils in Longbranch have reached a marvelous accommodation; each group seems willing to bend for the other.

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APPENDIX A

Weekly Schedule of Classes for a Fourth Grade

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
9:00–9:40	Block	Block	Block	Art	Library Skills and Reference Skills
9:45–10:00	↓	↓	↓	Other Studies	Block
10:00–10:30	↓	↓	↓	Physical Education	↓
10:30–12:00	↓	↓	↓	Other Studies	↓
12:00–1:00	Lunch →	→	→	→	→
1:00–1:45	Other Studies	Music	Other Studies	Block	Other Studies
1:45–2:30	Library Skills and Reference Skills	Physical Education	Music	↓	Gym
2:30–3:10	Other Studies	Art	Other Studies	↓	Library
3:05–3:50	↓	Gym	Science	↓	Other Studies
4:00	Home →	→	→	→	→

APPENDIX B

Pupil Behavior Observation Schedule

Date: _____ Time: _____ Homeroom Teacher: _____ Place: _____

	Time Intervals				
	1	2	3	4	5
Pupil's name					
Activities					
Location					
Group					
Working					
Getting					
Watching/listening					
Daydreaming					
Talking with aide/with teacher					
Talking with peer					
Helping teacher					
Helping friend					
Playing					
Making					
Other[a]					
Unidentified[b]					

Location Code:
A - At seat
B - Traveling
C - On the floor, at play table
D - At teacher's desk
E - Tape table
F - Periphery
G - Out of the room

Place Code:
1 - Block
2 - Other Studies
3 - Art
4 - Library
5 - IS
6 - Sci-SS

[a] Fooling around

[b] Waiting

APPENDIX C

Teacher Interviews

Excerpt of Interview with Fourth-Grade Teacher

Author: What kinds of things would an observer see the kids involved with?

Teacher: The early part of the morning, filling prescriptions, getting any reference material that they need to do their prescription at their desk--perhaps a few of them going to the science lab; that's about it.

Author: What do you mean exactly by "filling their prescriptions?"

Teacher: Going to the places where the booklets are kept, etc.; getting their things ready for the morning.

Author: So there's a period of kind of getting ready, getting organized, followed by . . .

Teacher: Well, most of them are all working at their seats or either going to get other things that they need to do their work, that they have seen--or else they are in science.

Author: If they were working at their seats, to be very specific, what kind of things would they be doing?

Teacher: Well, their math booklets, their reading material, spelling, prescriptions.

Author: All right, what happens as they begin to finish?

Teacher: Well, as they finish, many of them will turn to selected reading and begin working in that for the week--uh, a lot of them tend to go back and get drawing paper and go to their seats and draw. Many of them play chess, or other popular games. I forget right now what they really like to play, but they would start filtering toward those things after they finish their work.

Author: Would you use the expression "self-selected" activities to describe those things?

Teacher: Yes.

Excerpt of Interview with Fifth-Grade Teacher

Author: One way of starting might be to tell me what kinds of things kids do in block.

Teacher: Some of the activities--I think the majority of the time is spent working in their IPI [Individually Prescribed Instruction] subjects; concentration is there. If they fulfill their goals, their requirements, their contract, then they are allowed to have self-selected activities. These include a variety of things such as going to science, going to the library, going out on the computers. Well, many times computers are often used in conjunction with the program and additional prescriptions. There's games, learning games. Many times the children just want to be creative, and I always request that they come up and ask me what they want to do, why, what materials they need before I give them permission to do it--an art activity, let's say some creative activity on their own. I have a box called "what'll I do box" which gives them a variety of ideas: creative writing, art, social studies activities, working with maps, etc. I also have some learning centers set up in the room where they can work. I usually require that they do learning center work at least once a day--unless the child is really having difficulty or if I found he was getting behind.